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XIV.—UHLAND'S *FORTUNAT* AND THE *HISTOIRE DE FORTUNATUS ET DE SES ENFANS*.

Professor Herford divides the *Volksbücher* of Fortunatus into the Frankfurt and the Augsburg groups. The Augsburg editions, he points out, have ungermanized names and slightly more copious incident. He says further : "All the known editions of the *Volksbuch* contain substantially the same story. From the first German edition, published at Augsburg in 1509, and its numerous German successors, to the Dutch, English, and Danish versions of the seventeenth century, the story everywhere unfolds itself in the same elaborate disorder, varying only in quantity of descriptive detail, or at most, in the omission or inclusion of some trifling episode."¹ With this conclusion Harms agrees ;² and I have found no reason to dispute this classification, and can only emphasize the trifling nature of the differences of the two groups and the extremely close agreement of texts within the same group. I make this statement after examining all the editions of the *Volksbuch* available in the Royal Library at Berlin, such additional ones as were obtainable through the aid of the *Auskunftsbureau der deutschen Bibliotheken* (which has the coöperation of three hundred German libraries), the British Museum, and the following libraries at Paris : the Library of the *Sorbonne*, the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, and the *Bibliothèque de St. Geneviève*. I found, however, one version in prose narrative form which presents a very free

¹ C. H. Herford : *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 204 ff. .

² Paul Harms : *Das Fortunatus Drama von 1620 und das Volksbuch*, Hamburg und Leipzig, 1892, p. 17.

and clumsy adaptation of the conventional material of the *Volksbuch*, namely, *Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel und Wunschhüttlein, eine alte Geschichte für neue Zeiten*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1787 (British Museum). The variations from the type found here do not correspond to those in Uhland's work. We must seek some other free adaptation of the conventional form, if we would find a source for Uhland's changes.

The first thing to be observed in Uhland's poem is its title: "Fortunat und seine Söhne." All *Volksbücher* make special mention of purse and wishing-cap, and naturally so; for their public had extraordinary interest in these magical objects. Two titles from the Frankfurt and Augsburg families of texts will illustrate them all. The Frankfurt title of 1564 runs: *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel vnd Wünschhüttlin*, etc.; that of Augsburg, 1530: *Von Fortunato vnd seinem Seckel auch Wünschhüttlin*, etc. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may confidently believe that no German *Volksbuch* with other than the stereotyped title was accessible to Uhland. The Library of the University of Tübingen, from which Uhland would naturally have drawn, contains but one copy of our *Volksbuch* printed prior to the composition of his poem. This copy formerly belonged to Uhland himself. It was printed at Augsburg in 1609 and bears the title: *Fortunatus / von seinem Seckel vnnd Wünschhüttlein*, etc.¹

Nor do we find Uhland's title in any of the German dramatized versions. Dekker's play, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, seems to have been first presented in German at Graz with the title *Von des Fortunatus peitl und*

¹ I am indebted for this and other valuable information in regard to Uhland's library to Dr. K. Geiger, Oberbibliothekar of the Library of the University of Tübingen.

Wunschhütel.¹ It is significant that the title of the latter restores cap and purse with a vengeance. Similarly in the *Comödie, von Fortunato und seinem Seckel und Wunschhüttlein*, 1620;² in the opera, *Tragödia von des Fortunati Wunschhute und Säckel mit dem Intermedio von dem alten Proculo*;³ and in Chamisso's dramatic adaptation—cap and purse are retained, and the sons are omitted in the title. Hans Sachs includes the purse, but omits the cap and sons. Tieck, like Dekker, omits cap, purse, and sons.

We find, therefore, no German precedent for Uhland's title, tho it has been used by some of his successors. There are, indeed, English precedents. The chap-book of London, 1740, has the title: *The Right Pleasant and Diverting History of Fortunatus and his Two Sons*, etc. Other English titles might be cited that include the sons and omit the cap and purse. This is substantially Uhland's form; but I know of no evidence that the poet used any of these editions, and his poem has nothing further in common with them. The Dutch editions revert to the German type; that of Amsterdam, 1796, may be taken to represent those in the British Museum and in the Royal Library at Berlin, and indeed all those that were accessible to me. Its title runs *Een nieuwe Historie van Fortunatus Borse En van zynen Wenschhoed*, etc.

The French and Italian editions show a variety of titles. That of Lyons, 1656, bears the title: *Fortunatus. Histoire comique, ou les aventures de Fortunatus*, etc.

¹ Hans Scherer: *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, by Thomas Dekker, Erlangen und Leipzig, 1901, p. 19.

² Published in *Sammlung Englischer Komödien* von 1620; also in *Schaubühne englischer und französischer Comödianten*, 1670, vol. 3; in Tieck's *Deutsches Theater*, Berlin, 1817, vol. 2; J. Tittmann, *Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jhdts.*, vol. 6.

³ Scherer notes, *l. c.*, p. 25, that Gottsched records the performance of such an opera in Dresden in 1678.

In this, as in a number of other editions, no mention whatever of purse or cap is made. There are, however, several in the titles of which cap and purse appear; for example, that published at Troyes bearing the censor's date 1705: *Histoire des Aventures Heureuses et Malheureuses de Fortunatus, avec Sa Bourse et son Chapeau*. But the omission of the sons continues in all editions down to that of Paris, 1770, which by omitting cap and purse and adding the sons (strictly, *enfants*) gives us, like the English chap-book, substantially Uhland's form. There is an Italian edition, Naples, 1676, which bears the title *Degli Arvenimenti di Fortunato e di suoi figli*, etc.; but there is no evidence that Uhland saw it, and there is no special resemblance between it and Uhland's work. The case is very different with the French version printed at Paris in 1770, which I shall henceforth designate as *P*. Of all versions that I have examined, *P* alone accounts for a number of features in Uhland's poem.

P attracts attention at once by the liberty taken with the conventional form of the story. It adds new incidents and makes important changes in the incidents of the original form at will; it develops characters, and introduces a large reflective and subjective element. Uhland, too, changed the story, developed characters, and introduced a large reflective and subjective element of his own. For him, as for the author of *P*, the interest undoubtedly centered chiefly in the careers of Fortunatus and his sons. The change of title, therefore, corresponds in both authors to a change of attitude toward the subject.

Now *P* was accessible to Uhland in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, when he was studying at Paris in 1810-11. We know well that he was interested in this sort of literature at this time. In 1809 he wrote a preface for a book his friend Kerner intended to publish, in which occur these

words: "Die Stadt Reutlingen ist wie durch Gerberei, Färberei und den Nachdrucker Mäken, so besonders durch den Druck von Volksliedern und Volksromanen berühmt. Wie ein Nordlicht verbreitet dies über die ganze Stadt einen höchst wunderbaren Schein. Dort denk' ich bei jedem Pferd an das Ross Bayart, bei jedem Schmidknecht an den gehörnten Siegfried . . . bei jedem Ring an die Liebesringe der Magelone, und den Ort, wo sie lagen; bei jedem Hut und Beutel (den meinigen ausgenommen) an Fortunati Säckel und Wünschhüttlein; vorzüglich aber besitzt diese Stadt ein herrliches gotisches Münster und demselben gegenüber eine alte Kammer, voll der herrlichsten altdeutschen Geschichtsbücher, kaum hatte ich das letzte erfahren, als ich mich eilends dahin begab, um zu retten, was noch zu retten wäre; denn wie manche herrliche Blüte und Frucht zernagt wohl täglich der Bücherwurm!"¹ We have another passage significant for our present study in a letter to Kerner written June 15, 1810: "Ich habe mehrere französische Volksromane gefunden, Die Heymonskinder, Fortunat, Magelone . . . unter den Manuskripten der Bibliothek sind ebenfalls Aymonskinder, Magelone, Griseldis, u. s. w." But was this edition of *Fortunatus* that of Paris, 1770? In the accession-list of the library of the University of Tübingen for the years 1870-71, which contains a catalogue of Uhland's library, we find a record of one, and only one, French *Fortunatus*, and that is *P*, no doubt the copy that the poet, in his letter to Kerner, reported having found at Paris.

We find some influence of *P* on Uhland's *Fortunat* in the technique of narration. The *Volksbuch* makes scant use of the direct discourse. *P*, however, puts the whole story in the form of an autobiography. Uhland, too, allows For-

¹ *Reutlinger Geschichtsblätter*, xiii. Jahrgang, Sept.-Okt., 1902, p. 69.

tunatus to tell his own story up to the time of his taking service with the count of Flanders. The poet follows the French source, also, in making Andreas tell the story of the unfortunate nobleman held captive at Turin, whereas the *Volksbuch* reports his distressing experience in impersonal narration.

The influence of *P* is discernible also in the portrayal of character. Both Uhland and *P* omit all condemnation of Fortunatus for squandering his patrimony; but the *Volksbuch* condemns Theodorus unsparingly for dissipating his heritage and bringing his family into dire distress: "so fienge er doch wieder sein altes Wesen an / mit Stechen / Thurnieren / vil Knechten / köstlichen Rossen / ritt dem König zu Hof / liesz Weib vñ Kind / fragt nit wie es gieng / heut verkaufft er ein zinsz / morgē den andern / das trieb er so lang und vil / bisz das er nichts mehr zu verkauffen noch zuversetzen hett / vñ kam also zu armut / hett sein junge tag vnnützlich verzehrt / vnd ward so arm / dz er weder Knecht noch Megd vermocht / vnd muszt die gute Frau Gratiana selber kochen vñ waschen / als ein armes verkaufftes Weib" (A III, 1).¹ The author of the French version, on the contrary, takes great pains to excuse Théodore, one of his extravagances having been lavish gifts to his wife (pp. 5 f.). Again: "Le seul défaut qu'on pût reprocher à mon père étoit sa prodigalité; encore étoit-il douteux si elle n'étoit pas autant l'effet de son cœur bienfaisant et généreux, que de l'ostentation" (p. 4). Uhland, too, omits the blame and is also inclined to excuse, tho in less explicit terms. We hear that the ruin of Theodorus was due to extreme hospitality:

¹ Passages quoted from the *Volksbuch* are taken from *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel vnd Wünschhüttlin*, etc., Frankfurt a. M., 1564 (Royal Library, Berlin).

“Er war der reichste Bürgersmann hievor,
Die Freunde haben ihm sein Gut verschmauset” (l. 29 f.).

“Nun denkt ihr leicht (und ich bekenn’ es ehrlich),
Dasz mir’s daheim nicht sehr behagen mochte,
Für Durst zu trinken und zu speisen nährlich,
Wo man vordem zahllosen Gästen kochte” (l. 33 f.).

Moreover, neither Uhland nor the French source reproaches the father for neglecting the education of Fortunatus. The *Volksbuch* declares it to have been greatly neglected: “der Son nun bey achtzehen Jaren alt, vñ kund nichts denn bloß einen namen schreiben vnd lesen / doch so kundt er wol mit dem Federspil vnd anderm Weydwerck / das denn auch sein kurtzweil was” (A III, 1). Here, too, the French source is concerned to improve the character of Théodore; for Fortunatus declares: “Grâce aux soins que vous avez pris de mon éducation, je puis me rendre utile,” etc., (p. 7). The retainers of the Count of Flanders are jealous, not only because of the favor shown Fortunatus, but also on account of his superior education (p. 13). We are told explicitly: “mon père n’a rien négligé pour mon éducation” (p. 11). Tho Uhland says nothing directly about the education of the hero, no one would dream that there had been any neglect in this respect.

Both Uhland and *P* emphasize the character of Gratiana more than the *Volksbuch*, which is singularly reticent about her. We merely read that her father “hett ein schöne Tochter / geheissen Gratiana” (A II, 2); and “muszt die gute Frauw Gratiana selber kochen.” Indeed, she hardly enters as an incident in the career of Fortunatus. When about to leave, Fortunatus assures his father that the king is a good master and will take care of him and Gratiana as long as they live (A III, 1). Tho he is greatly concerned to save his father unnecessary anxiety, he takes no thought

of his mother. He departs without leave or blessing of parents (A IIII, 2). In *P*, however, Gratiane is very prominent. We are introduced to her in these words: "Une jeune beauté, douce, modeste, possédant toutes les vertus de son sexe et n'en ayant presque aucun des défauts" (p. 3). When the crisis comes, Gratiane manifests supreme goodness and loving tenderness. Fortunatus is greatly disturbed over the anxiety he causes both parents, and formally asks permission to depart (p. 7). He leaves, and we hear him say: "Mes regards se tournoient malgré moi vers le demeure de mes tristes parens" (p. 10). As in the *Volksbuch*, we have in Uhland's poem no scene of parting, and naturally, therefore, the character of the mother is not so much developed as in *P*. Yet what is said of her is, as in the case of the father, more in line with the French treatment. The thoughts of Uhland's Fortunat also revert in tender solicitude to both parents. The lines in Uhland are:

"Frau Gratiana, die geehrte Dame,
Ist meine Mutter" (l. 32).

"Mir ist, als hört' ich die Verlassnen klagen;
Die Mutter sonderlich, die gute Mutter,
Sie weint so leicht, sie hat ein Herz wie Butter" (l. 62).

Then again Hieronymus is in the *Volksbuch* merely a very rich merchant with large interests. Both Uhland and *P* emphasize further his thoughtfulness and prudence. Uhland characterizes Hieronymus as "bedacht" (l. 302), and at another point tells us: "Doch dieser ist der kältste Mann der Erde" (l. 509). The French version declares him to be "prudent surtout" (p. 30); and again, "le plus entendu et le plus sage négociant de Londres" (p. 34), and is at great pains to show us that in the matter of advancing money for the release of the captive at Turin he deviates for reasons of sentiment or friendship not one hair's breadth

from correct business principles. Thus: "Après la dinée; lorsque nous fûmes seuls, je lui demandai, pourquoi ayant si bonne opinion de D. André, il ne prenoit pas sur lui de lui confier ses fonds, sans s'inquiéter d'autre caution que lui-même. 'Je n'hésiterais pas un moment,' me répondit-il; 'mais je suis commerçant, et ce seroit manquer essentiellement aux lois du commerce; il faut que chacun fasse son métier'" (p. 35).

The plot, too, shows the influence of *P* at a number of points. In the Fool's allegations of the Count's jealousy and determination to compel Fortunatus to submit to the operation, the balance inclines sharply to the French side. Uhland's Count is represented by the fool as being keenly jealous of Fortunatus and of him alone, in consequence of the preference shown by the Countess (ll. 265 ff. and ll. 346 ff.). Thus far Uhland agrees with the French source, tho the latter goes still farther, making Fortunatus actively seek the love of the Countess (p. 17). In the *Volksbuch*, no allegation of jealousy focuses on Fortunatus. The duke is merely represented as wishing to eliminate four possible rivals for the affection of his wife, of whom Fortunatus is one.

We see further influence on the plot in the case of the nobleman who came to grief in Turin. The *Volksbuch* informs us that he was on a mission of the king, but we hear nothing of the cause of the imprisonment. Both Uhland and our French version assign debt as the cause (Uhl., 496 ff.; *P*, p. 34).

There are, too, several details of influence in connection with the murder of Edmund. In the *Volksbuch* Andreas invites the nobleman to go and see the alleged jewels, and they go without ceremony: "Da sagt Andreas zu dem Edelmann / kompt mit mir hinauff in mein Kammer / so wil ich euch meine Kleinot' auch sehen lassen / und giengen

also mit einander in ein Kammer" (C I, 1). But both Uhland and *P* emphasize the cordiality assumed by Andreas. Thus :

"Andreas aber naht sich ihm gesellig ;
Zur Sache nun, Herr Ritter, wenn's gefällig" (ll. 655 ff.).

The *Volksbuch* proceeds : "Als sie in die Kammer kamen, thet Andreas als wolt er ein grosze Truhen aufschlieszen / vñ zucket ein Messer / stach den Edelmann, dasz er fiel . . ." (C I, 1). In Uhland and in *P*, however, the nobleman stoops, that he may examine the supposed jewelry better : "Tandisque celui-ci se baisse à cause de la faiblesse de sa vue, il lui plonge un poignard dans le sein" (p. 39). Uhland says essentially the same thing :

"Herr Edmund beugt sich hin, so sieht er's besser ;
Da führt ihm ins Genick des Welschen Messer" (ll. 663 ff.)

After the murder, Andreas, according to the *Volksbuch*, appropriates seal-ring and keys, and hastens to the murdered nobleman's home : "Gieng eilends in desz Edelmanns Haus zu seiner Frauwen" (C I, 1). In Uhland's version, as in *P*, Andreas pauses to fasten the door upon leaving the chamber of death :

"Mit Hast
Entweichet er, nachdem er fest verriegelt" (l. 667).

P has "ferme la porte sur lui." In both versions, the door is subsequently broken in : "Die Thür wird gewaltsam eingestoszen" (l. 718) ; "Nous trouvons la porte de la chambre fermée à clef, nous l'enfonçons" (p. 39).

Both Uhland and *P* cause Andreas to explain further why the husband did not himself call for the jewels. D. André explains that it is "à cause de son âge" (p. 39) ; Uhland's Andreas :

"Er läuft nicht gern, wenn er ein Mahl beendigt" (l. 676).

In the *Volksbuch* mere possession of seal-rings and keys suffices.

In the poem, as in *P*, when blood drips thru the ceiling, Roberto hastens with his servants to the scene of the murder,—a much more dramatic arrangement than that in the *Volksbuch*, where the master simply sends his servants to investigate. In the latter we read: “Was das Blut durch die Dilen in den Saal geflossen, das sahe der Herr, vñ rufft gar bald seinen Knechten / vñ sprach: Von wannen kompt das Blut? Sie lieffen vnd sahen / da funden sie den frommen Edelmañ tod ligen / sie erschracken sehr / vnd vor groszem Schrecken wuszten sie nicht was sie thun solten” (C I, 2). There is no mention of the master's presence on the scene of blood. A statement to the contrary appears in the confession of Hieronymus: “vnd sendet meine Knechte dasz sie besehen was solches wer / sageten sie mir wie es ein Gestalt hette / da wuszte ich nicht wie es zugangen war / in dem kam der Schalk Andreas gelauffen / dem setzet ich zu vmb den Mordt . . .” (C v, 1). In Uhland, however, we read:

“Roberto steckt die Feder hinter's Ohr,
Berufet zitternd seine Hausgenossen
Und steigt mit ihnen zum Gemach empor” (l. 713 ff.).

And in *P*: “Nous montons, nous trouvons la porte de la chambre fermée à clef; nous l'enfonçons: quel spectacle! Le cadavre du Lord étoit à terre noyé dans son sang” (p. 39). That the expression “nous montons” includes Alberti is clear from the development of the scene; for he and Fortunatus have a dispute in the chamber of death.

We have seen that there are excellent reasons to believe that Uhland read *P* before the composition of his *Fortunat und seine Söhne*. Altho there are no striking stylistic resemblances, and particularly no close verbal ones, we find considerable influence of another sort. This begins in the title,

is evident in the technique of narration, more so in the portrayal of character, and most of all in the supply of details, some of them important, for the plot. Those who would understand the genesis of Uhland's *Fortunat* must, accordingly, consider the French source along with the German *Volksbuch*.

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